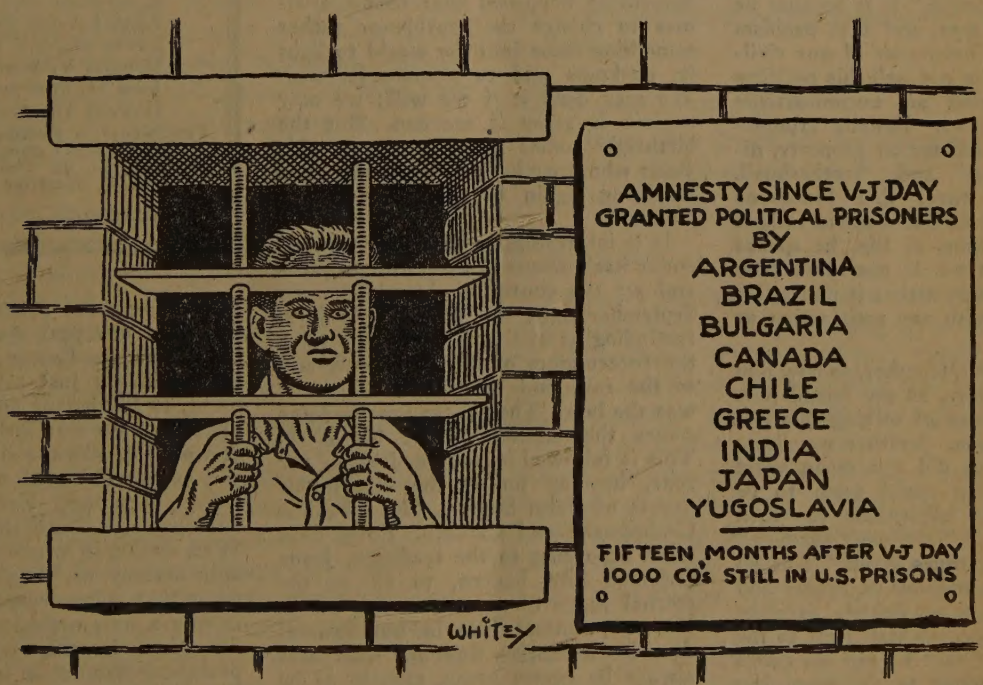
FELLOWSHIP

December 1946 — Vol. XII—No. 11

Now that we have preserved our freedom of conscience and religion, our right to live by a decent moral and spiritual code of our own choosing, let us make full use of that freedom.—PRESIDENT TRUMAN, MARCH 6, 1946



The Committee on Amnesty for COs has urged all interested persons to write or wire the President during the period immediately after Thanksgiving, urging him to declare an amnesty for these men for Christmas. (The cartoonist, Theodore "Whitey" Matysik, has recently been released after his second sentence as a CO.)

20 cents a copy — $2.00 a year

FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

A friend of mine, a distinguished scholar, has been reading Yinger's *Religion in the Struggle for Power*, and he sends me a quotation from the book (p. 177), as follows: "We need not attempt to discover whether or not the founder of Christianity was a pacifist."

"This is the third important book I have read lately," says my friend in comment, "in which Christ is unceremoniously bowed out of Christianity. Northrop (in his *The Meeting of East and West*) discusses Luther, Calvin, St. Thomas Aquinas, Augustine, St. Paul—not Jesus."

I

It is obvious that Jesus is an embarrassment to our age, as to every age preceding our own. The demands which he makes upon human nature are as terrible as they are inexorable. If Dr. Yinger does not want "to discover whether or not the founder of Christianity was a pacifist," it is because he knows that he was, and that pacifism is the supreme indictment of our civilization. But it is not only his pacifism that makes Jesus an uncomfortable presence among us. Equally troublesome are his teachings on property, divorce, business, and brotherhood. Wherever we turn, this Nazarene points a way we do not want to follow. In all the relations of life, he speaks a commandment we do not know how to obey. This man makes it impossible for us to live with any satisfaction or content.

To ignore him altogether, to bow him out of Christianity, as my friend puts it, is only one way of solving this disagreeable dilemma. Another way is to assert that Jesus did not mean what he said. Nothing could seem to be clearer than his injunctions to "turn the other cheek," "love your enemies," "forgive seventy times seven," "put up thy sword," but millions of people find reasons for doubt or denial. Straight as a yardstick was his statement to the rich young ruler that he sell his goods and give the money to the poor, but still we go ahead piling up wealth and possessing for profit. It may be that we do not know how to carry out such words as these. Where is the pacifist, for example, who has succeeded in disentangling himself from the processes of the war-machine in modern times? Which one of us all has solved the problem of divorcing his daily life from money and a money-economy? But we can at least be honest in confessing how far short we fall of the ideals taught by Jesus, and not add to our shame the further guilt of repudiating these ideals or evading their obvious intent.

II

Christmas has the high function of reminding us once a year that Jesus is here and that his words are on the record. Regularly each December there begins anew the story of this Jewish prophet who shook the world with his uncompromising law of love. We are summoned to the manger to survey this wonder-child who was destined to sum up in his teaching all the wisdom of the ages, and to seal it with his life of heroic sacrifice. Hitherto men had heard of love, but had never really known what it involved. Now they beheld it clothed in words so clear as to avoid all confusion, and applied in deeds so exalted as to point its farthest and fullest applications. It is not strange that history has agreed that the advent of this life in Palestine marks the closing of an ancient epoch and the opening of a new epoch for mankind. Something happened that first Christmas to change the world—or rather something came into the world to light its darkness and to prepare its way. We may deny it if we will; we may explain it away if we can. But the birthright comes again to restore this Jesus whom we have "bowed out," and to bring again the glory we have dimmed.

It is interesting to note that the calendar itself seems to mark the progress and set the course of Jesus' life. In September come the Jewish holy days, reminding us of the prophets who were the forerunners of the Nazarene, and of the race and religion of which he was the heir. Then three months later comes the anniversary of his birth. This is followed by the floodtide of the year, heading up to the stupendous drama of Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Gethsemane and Calvary. Forty days later, according to the tradition, Jesus ascended into heaven, to sit as the eternal judge of men upon this earth. We may unseat him in our hearts; deny his authority, flout his will. But always he comes again, exactly as he said he would. This very month he is born anew, a fresh gift to the world. And the world perishes for lack of him!

III

One thing is certain, and that is that Jesus has done his utmost. The rest waits upon us. Thus always is it in the economy of God, who forces us to no obedience of his commandments. He sets them before us, to accept or reject as we see fit. We are free agents. Only the consequences are inexorable: a judgment of life or death.

In the case of Jesus, we might well ask what our year would be like with the Christmas-Easter drama left out. Or we might just ask what it would mean, to Christians and non-Christians alike, to have no Christmas any more. It would be like the silencing of a bell, the extinguishing of a light, the final failure of a hope. For Jesus and what he represents is all the hope we have. War, ending in whatsoever victory, can only destroy us. Diplomacy is only a game that ruins every player. Ideology is only a new orthodoxy which insures despotism in this world instead of promising damnation in the next. Only love can save us, love to God and man, in pity for the universal tragedy of earth. Why not take Christmas as an invitation to make this love our own? Instead of bowing Jesus out, to open wide the door, at which he stands knocking, and let him in?

It is excellent that we will not let Christmas go. We celebrate it with new fervor every year, like the lonely heart come home. But the gulf between profession and practice is so wide! We observe Christmas as a rite, but do not live it as a life. How long, O Lord, how long?

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FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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Subheads

Purge

Another of the "ideological purges" in which the Soviet Union periodically indulges has turned up. Novelists and musicians are upbraided for turning out bourgeois romances and capitalistic melodies. Young Communists are excoriated for not devoting their meetings exclusively to political discussions (which means, of course, testimony meetings on the subject of Soviet salvation).

What appalls Americans most about these ideological purges, where there is usually little or no bloodshed, is the awful humorlessness about them. A musician is sternly warned that he must stop composing bourgeois, counter-revolutionary symphonies; a poet is rebuked for letting his fancy wander to apple blossoms in the springtime instead of sticking grimly to the task of rhapsodizing over the Bolsheviks, and all with a straight face! Nobody laughs at the commissar who delivers the message, and that seems even worse than the message itself. Americans are apt to conclude that the Russians are a somber, heavy-hearted and thick-headed people, and wonder despairingly how we can ever find anything in common with them.

Thinking about this the other day, we began to recall the various Americans who would just love to conduct ideological purges. Think of the thousands of speeches made by American Legion satraps on "Americanism" and "foreign isms"; of Martin Dies and John Rankin and "The Man" Bilbo; of the Ku Klux Klan and the vari-colored shirt organizations! How would you like any of them defining the character of American literature and music?

It is just the bad luck of the Russians, who are reported to get about as much fun out of life as the rest of us, to have the counterparts of these lads in control, and anyone who laughs is likely to get belted across the mouth with a billy.

Reconciliation

All of which brings up the subject of a nasty trap into which pacifists are likely to fall these days unless they step carefully. The trap is the temptation to feel, in the fervent desire to forestall war between Russia and the United States, that it is necessary to defend fundamentally indefensible acts of the Soviet government. The bait for this trap is the argument that the only alternative is to contribute to the war-mongering already going on.

The bait is a phony. There is another choice, as there always is in these "lesser-of-two-evils" dilemmas. It stems from the recognition that basically people *are* alike; that the Soviet government *is* tyrannical and totalitarian; and that it holds its power largely through its ability to scare the Russian people into believing that the "capitalistic nations," meaning principally this country, are just waiting for the chance to jump on them. That means, of course, that the third choice is commitment to a program of "making democracy work"; of proving our peaceable nature by reducing our armaments, throwing away our atomic bombs, relinquishing our Pacific air and naval bases; and by proposing a world-wide economic and social program based on a genuine belief in the brotherhood of man. *That* is reconciliation.

Civil Liberties Note

A girl in New Jersey has been sentenced to six months in jail for disorderly conduct because she refused to tell police her identity.

Consistent

We don't like to keep mentioning Gimbels in these paragraphs, but they do keep pointing up helpful little lessons in psychology. Within the past month, for example, Gimbels advertised fountain pens that write under water and combs that "you can twist like taffy." Neither characteristic sounds like much of a selling point. One would suspect that the scarcity of submarine scribblers would be matched only by the rarity of confirmed comb-twisters. Yet all indications are that both pens and combs are selling as fast as Mr. Gimbel and his associates can make change.

We have an idea that there is a lesson for pacifists here, though the full implications still are a little foggy. The fact that people who always write dryshod rush to buy a pen with which they can make notations on a goldfish or a mermaid does not *explain* the public's ability to accept the wildly irrational, but it does confirm it. When a listening crowd dutifully applauds the assertion by an Assistant Secretary of the Navy that America must have a strong Navy "to protect our policy of peace anywhere in the world," it does no good to protest: "But they *can't* believe that!" They do. And we submit that a man who will buy a comb because he can twist it like taffy can stare right into the gaping guns of the new cruiser the Assistant Secretary was commissioning and nod un-

questioning agreement with the statement that "no one can doubt our peaceful intentions."

Pearl Harbor Day

December 7 is the anniversary of the "day that will live in infamy," which seems like a good time to recall some editorial observations by the *New York Times,* to wit:

> The blow came unexpectedly. . . . As a matter of naval strategy and tactics, this prompt, enterprising and gallant act of Japanese arms will be memorable.

Eh? No, as a matter of fact, that appeared on February 10, 1904, immediately after the Japanese "sneak attack" that began the Russo-Japanese War. The Russians set up a holler about "treachery," which the *Times* dismissed scornfully on February 11 with the comment:

> It hardly becomes the dignity of a great nation to complain that it was struck before it was quite ready. If Russia is caught unprepared, the fault is surely her own. To impute treachery to the Japanese because they took the promptest possible advantage was a gloss reserved for the publicists at St. Petersburg.

O tempora! O mores!

American Legion

Our San Francisco agents have sent us voluminous material on the American Legion national convention held in their city in October. After browsing through it for an evening or so, we conclude that the Legion has come through the war essentially unchanged. Its drum corps still have the same bare-legged majorettes prancing in the van, and they still play the same tune. Individual phrases distinguishable in this composition are:

> We who went through the war hate war most; we don't want war, and the best way to avoid war is to arm to the teeth and make faces at Russia;
>
> Communism is bad; "liberal" is only another word for "Communist"; therefore all liberals are bad.
>
> There are not enough houses for veterans; immigrants need places to live; therefore all immigration should be suspended until all veterans are housed. (This obviously is aimed at the President's proposal that *more* immigrants be admitted in order to relieve a little of the suffering of refugees in Europe. Incidentally, the AL refused to support the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill, which would bring housing for veterans appreciably nearer, but which big real estate interests have opposed.)
>
> No foreign students should be admitted to American colleges. (The State Department proposed 50,000 students from other countries be educated here to improve relationships between nations.)
>
> The Attorney-General should prosecute conscientious objectors to the full extent of the law. (5 years, $10,000 fine.)
>
> Conscientious objectors should be barred from all civil service jobs.

Incidentally, one of the newspapers pointed out that the last time the Legion met in San Francisco, in 1923, it extended an invitation to Mussolini to be its guest speaker, and its national commander was quoted as saying that what the Fascisti were to Italy, the American Legion was to the United States.

Irrelevant

This is a little note of cheer for people who get discouraged about explaining the nature of that curious organization, the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Just suppose you belonged to the Association for the Protection of the Adirondacks, the Association of Average Adjusters of the U.S., the Association of Adjustable Shoulder Strap Manufacturers, or the Association of Manufacturers of Chilled Car Wheels, all of which we turned up during a rainy afternoon in the New York Telephone Directory. (One thing's been puzzling us ever since: how can an adjuster be sure he's average?)

Straws in a Foolish Wind

Eleven Protestant ministers of Steubenville, Ohio, have demanded permission to form a "posse of pistol-packing parsons" to stem a "threatened crime wave." All eleven are believed to be members in good standing of the First-Stone Throwers Association.

* * *

George Bernard Shaw, aged 90, has been made an Honorary Freeman of the Borough of St. Pancras, in London. One of the perquisites of the office is permanent exemption from military service. Enterprising COs are urged to take note.

* * *

Maj. Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe brings the good news that the Bikini tests proved that soldiers in tanks and dugouts exposed to atomic explosions could continue to fight for quite a while before dying from the effects of radiation. That makes everything fine.

* * *

From a purely economic viewpoint, it would be cheaper to fight Ethiopia than Albania, if we should ever have to choose. On the basis of reparations claims submitted, dead Ethiopians are worth only $489 each, while Albanians are valued at $13,160. Wonder how many sheep could be bought for $489.

* * *

A California church—why do so many things like this happen in California?—has dedicated a memorial window to the late General George S. Patton, Jr. Centered in the window is St. George on a white charger and lancing a dragon with a swastika skin. There is the insignia of the Third Army and of West Point, and on the border are the patches of the Third Army's twelve divisions. Down in one corner is a vignette of a man in a tank. Not a sign of anybody turning the other cheek.

* * *

The American League to Abolish Capital Punishment, Inc., went out of business in 1945.

* * *

Nikolai V. Novikov and Andrei Y. Vishinsky attended a solemn pontifical mass "to invoke Divine guidance" on the UN meetings, at St. Patrick's Cathedral. No comment.

* * *

The Superintendent of a Bureau of Fire Prevention wrote to the editors of *Look* recently, commending them for an article they had published the week before and asking permission to reprint for widespread distribution in his community. The title of the article was *Fire—An American Tragedy,* and the community was Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

Descent in Five Phases

By WILFRED WELLOCK*

PHASE I. Cheapness

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, business men and economists made a great discovery: the all-conquering, revolutionary power of cheapness. Cheapness was the key to a new El Dorado of private riches, and of national greatness and power.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the ruling principle in trade, which was almost entirely domestic, was quality, and to ensure quality there was evolved the 'just price.'

That principle was now deemed archaic. Quality and the 'just price' were superseded by quantity of goods and cheapness. The discovery of steam-power had stimulated a threefold vision: plenitude of goods, cheapness, and unbounded profits. The era of mass production had dawned. The spate of goods which followed quickly flooded the home markets and ran down to the sea, whence commercial travelers found openings for them in Europe, in the East and on the Continent of America.

Nations that refused to worship at the shrine of cheapness were deemed to be mentally deficient or in need of spiritual and economic guidance. Thus China, who did not want the balance of her village economy upset by cheap, machine-made British goods, said no to our 'travelers.' But such backwardness was not to be tolerated. Accordingly the process of conversion to the new religion was assisted by a few gunboats, which seized and opened up for trading a number of 'Treaty Ports.'

It should be added that this spreading of prosperity had the blessing of the church, whence in the course of a few decades, cheapness had passed from an economic principle to a political policy and a religious faith.

Then came the battle of the machines. Just when British manufacturers had got both feet in El Dorado, were rejoicing in a rising tide of shekels, and were shaping Britain's destiny as the workshop of the world, they were flattered by competitors. They could not complain, however, since cheapness was a product of competition. But six countries, instead of one, producing goods by power machinery, so rapidly increased the flow of goods as completely to flood the world's markets. Such a contingency had not been foreseen, and nobody knew what to do about it. So the competing governments began to slam one another. This ended in the grand slam of the First World War.

PHASE II. Destruction

The real reason for the first world war was that nobody could help it. Abundance was a new problem. Those responsible for it were intellectually and spiritually bankrupt, and horse sense told them that as their trouble was unsalable plenty, idle machines and idle labor, a large-scale war would at least provide a temporary solution to their problem. Destruction, and production for destruction over several years, would clear the way for a long boom in trade.

This method of trade revival was assisted by the Treaty of Versailles, by which the Allies shared among themselves the major part of Germany's economic power. This monopolistic policy naturally beggared Germany, and with her half of Europe, whose low standard of living hastened the Great Slump. In that crisis, Britain, France and the United States carried the process of economic monopolism a big step further by drastic tariff expedients. This brought Hitler to power in Germany, a military Junta in Japan, and drove the three Have-not Powers into a struggle for economic monopoly, out of which came World War II.

Two world wars within twenty-five years have proved that the greater the world's power of production, the greater is the certainty of more frequent and more devastating wars; also that the inventions which increase the world's productive power in peace, increase its destructive power in war. Both phenomena spring from the necessity of capturing more and more world markets. It used to be said that this necessity was due to the capitalist demand for profits. But we now see that it is equally due to the socialist demand for a roofless standard of living. In the recent war Germany and Russia ruthlessly overcame and partitioned Poland, later Germany tried to drive communism beyond the Urals, and finally the United Nations sought to atomize Germany by means of block-busting. On all sides the ruling idea seemed to be that the greater the destruction the greater the hope of survival. Hence Potsdam outdid Versailles, and even so, its deeds are worse than its word.

Today the policies of the Big Three are being framed under the shadow of World War III. The economic war between Britain and the United States is under way, and the latter obviously intends to make Britain toe the U.S. economic line. The war for power between Russia on the one hand and Britain and the United States on the other is also under way. At a more frantic pace than ever in the past, the world's productive power is about to ascend to a frightening new level; the power of destruction will rise with it. The war counterpart of the mechanical advances of the years between the wars was expressed in block-busting, doodle, and atomic bombs; that of the present period of 'peace' promises to be up to standard. Before long the atomic bomb will have degenerated into a new normality. The Bikini test would appear to have had that end as its objective. In other words, a rising rate of destruction in war has become as much a part of the social order of cheapness, high profits and high standards of living, as a rising rate of production in peace.

PHASE III. Dearness

After worshiping at the shrine of cheapness for 150 years, we suddenly realize that what we have got is not cheapness after all, but dearness, even frightful dearness.

Forty years ago a substantial working-class house could be built for £220. After the First World War a similar house cost £1,000, and never fell below £400. Today its cost is £1,200, and all the indications are that it will not drop much below £800. What is true of houses is true of most things that are not government-subsidized.

Worse still, the competition in cheapness has placed

* Wilfred Wellock is an English pacifist journalist and lecturer, author of "A Mechanistic or a Human Society?" This article appeared originally in the British magazine *Values*, and is reprinted by permission.

beyond our reach a wide range of qualitative productions which people who refuse to have their tastes standardized still desire. The First World War raised the cost of labor so that only the very rich, such as war profiteers, could afford to build houses of stone. Hundreds of stone quarries have been idle ever since. For the same reason, and also because the war has sent large quantities of the world's best timber to the bottom of the sea in ships, it is going to be increasingly difficult to have quality goods made of wood. Unless one can pick up second-hand furniture, one must accept the uniformity of the machine, nicely named 'utility.' That is to say, we are rapidly approaching the time when we can only afford things which can be poured out of a mold, like metal or plastics, or out of a stamping-machine. Silk is passing beyond the pale of normal mortals, and one wonders how long it will be possible to afford woolen clothing, for unless we are content with clothing made from yarns that are forced through nozzles from huge vats of chemical solutions, we look like having to go naked.

PHASE IV. A Tawdry World

The other day on a railway journey I passed two new mushroom housing sites. At least I concluded that is what they were, although the structures looked very like glorified match boxes. I couldn't help wondering what the craftsmen of the fifteenth century would have thought about them. They reveal what our cheapness amounts to: dear commodities and a cheap world! In every direction we are moving away from quality and distinction to uniformity and monotony. In the pre-industrial era one rarely saw two houses alike. Builders knew the importance of variety and character, the requirements of situation, and the importance of locality in relation to raw materials. They would have been ashamed to build a house that was not distinguished in some way. One could go into home after home and see unique furniture in all of them. All such distinctions are now to go. We cannot afford them. The worship of 'cheapness' demands their sacrifice. Hence there is no escape from a tawdry, monotonous world. Your new house must be, say, Model A, its furniture (utility) Style B, its fittings Grade C, and its decorations Scheme D. From now on our material goods must be of this uniform order —mass models for mass men. To such a pass has our boasted science and inventiveness brought us!

PHASE V. Cheap Men

That brings me to the core of my theme. What the pursuit of cheapness has really done has been to make commodities dear and men cheap. The shoddiest production in this ever-cheapening world is man himself. Every stage in the achievement of cheapness has entailed the cheapening of men, the subservience of man to the machine. Since the dawn of the industrial revolution the key-word of material progress has been mechanical specialization; it has transformed man from a creator or craftsman into a machine-feeder. To accommodate this false economy, our educational institutions have been adapted to turn out a small number of industrial and scientific experts, and a vast army of machine-feeders. This is the new feudalism. The outcome? A world cluttered with uniform commodities and peopled with mass men. From the end of the eighteenth century, advance in production has meant industrial specialization, which has involved the gradual elimination of skill, initiative, responsibility, and organic or functional contact with the community, in the great body of workers. Instead of the machine being used to eliminate donkey work and to assist man to express and develop his genius —the genius that is in every man—it has been used to capture markets and cause wars, to cover the earth with nauseating uniformity, and to degrade man into an industrial robot. The common man has thus become an atom in an atomized society. It is not without significance that the atomic bomb and the atomized society have arrived together: mass production, mass man, mass destruction.

Speaking broadly, the cheapest thing in the world today is man, while the dearest things are machines, especially machines of destruction—battleships and atomic bombs. Man is cheap because he has been sacrificed to the machine and become a machine-feeder. He is still necessary, because machines must be fed and guns fired; but he has long ceased to be a human person and to be prized and honored for his creative powers, which are his chief endowment. In the mass, he is prized mainly for three things: as a productive unit, a fighting unit, and a breeding unit. His education, insurances and other social benefits have these three primary ends in view. If he fails in any of them there is and will continue to be trouble, although even Hitler had difficulty in compelling people to breed.

Machine warfare has made war total: everybody must be roped in. Military and industrial conscription follow as a matter of course. But total war drives its tentacles into the peace, which now demands military conscription, and industrial conscription also during critical periods, including industrial slumps.

Man's cheapness is written right across our centralized, standardized, totalitarian, total-war civilization: in the block-busting and doodle-bombing of Europe, and in the atomic bombing of Japan; in the appalling mass migrations in Central and Eastern Europe, in the use of vast populations of conquered peoples and prisoners of war as slave labor long after the termination of hostilities, and in the ghastly mass torturing, burning and gassing of Poles, Jews, Russians, Germans and others. The numbers of Germans, Russians, Poles, Jews and many others who have perished in the recent war will never be known. And who can encompass in imagination the agonies endured by the sixteen to twenty millions of people in Central and Eastern Europe alone who have been driven from country to country, with less thought than if they were cattle, since the close of the war? As for the slave labor, have we not boasted of the superiority of our Christian civilization over ancient Rome?

The Ascent

Is the descent to continue, or is there to be an ascent? Unless there be an ascent, the end of Western civilization is not far off. Any ascent must start with man, whose rights as a creator must be restored. Man must subdue the machine if he is to serve his proper ends; must terminate its present authority over his life and destiny. In the meantime, education must recapture its primary function, that of teaching the art of living, which includes the art of discriminating between values. The social revolution we seek involves the transition from the money-values of a standardized, totalitarian civilization, which is what Western civilization is everywhere becoming, to the values of a creative, organic, cooperative, human society.

On Understanding Russia

By A. J. MUSTE

The word *disarmament* has been spoken from the platform which reaches more people than any other in the world, the platform of the Assembly of the United Nations. That is a great gain for those who truly want to see the nations disarmed. We can hope to reach many more people with our message than before.

In order that we may work effectively for this objective, it is necessary to bear in mind that as yet the Molotov and Austin speeches represent mostly talk and are aspects of maneuvering in which the governments of Russia and the United States each seek to put the other on the spot. It is essential also to understand why nations are not yet seriously considering sensible projects like disarmament and international control of atomic energy. This article is an attempt to find some clues to this riddle.

To begin with, there are certain factors in the background of U.S.-Russian relations which it is well constantly to bear in mind:

America's "Aggression"

1. The Russians are very poor and we are very rich. The annual income of the United States is said to be three times that of all the other United Nations combined. By means of tariffs, immigration barriers, and armed forces we are seeking to perpetuate this status quo. It is hard to realize what an "aggression" upon others this constitutes.

2. The Russians suffered terribly in the war, we comparatively little. Someone has pointed out that to get an idea of the devastation suffered in Russia we must try to imagine that the United States had been invaded and pillaged from the Atlantic Coast to a line running through the middle of Kansas.

3. Russia is passing through a period of difficult postwar adjustment in comparison to which our reconversion problems are like a slight discomfiture. Thinking of this will help explain why Russia is not anxious to bring its armies home and has them living off the land in various nations.

4. Russia has passed through an experience of humiliation, of being regarded as a pariah, which Americans—except of course our minorities—never have experienced. The reaction from that experience explains much of the brusqueness displayed by Russian statesmen and publicists, and which seems so unnecessary and utterly unjustified to us.

5. The Russians are militarily weak and the United States very strong. Even their army is superior only in numbers. John Foster Dulles has remarked that American mechanized forces could go through the Russian Army like a knife through butter. On top of that we have a navy bigger than all the other navies put together, a dominant air force, and an arsenal of atomic weapons. Suppose the shoe were on the other foot and Russian forces were scattered all over the world. We would have no doubt that Russia was very "aggressive" and dangerous.

The reference to atomic weapons is a good point from which to take off for a closer explanation of Russian-American relations.

From the standpoint of good relations with Russia, we got off on the wrong foot in this atomic-bomb business. At Potsdam, Truman told the British that atomic bombs were going to be used against the Japanese. He did not tell Stalin. It was a horrendous mistake. Remember that "three-power unity in war and peace" was the slogan in those days! The mere fact that we sprang this new and terrible weapon on the world without notice and by unilateral action was a major shock to the Russians. Say all you want about how the Russians held things back too; still this could not be construed as evidence of our trust in Russia or a real determination to consult our allies on important issues.

Moreover, we now know on the authority of the U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey that there was no military necessity whatever for the use of the atomic bombs. The Russians, therefore, analyze our resort to them as proving (*a*) that we wanted to grab the glory for ending the war; (*b*) that we wanted to stop the Russian forces in Manchuria and Korea; and (*c*) that we wanted to impress the world with our predominant power and our determination to dominate the peace-making. (Incidentally, we may be sure that it infuriates the Russians that we, who needlessly brought atomic death on a hundred thousand civilians at one blow, should arrogate moral superiority to ourselves and lecture them on ruthlessness.)

Control of the Atom

We may say—many Americans do—that the United States has now advanced a sensible and even "generous" plan for the abolition of atomic weapons. There is no space to enter into an analysis of the recent Baruch-Wallace controversy. Let us for the sake of the present argument assume that Mr. Baruch is correct in asserting that his plan has all along envisaged certain steps under which each nation would submit to an equal extent to inspection—a very complicated and delicate process—and that the American proposal is very seriously intended to open a way to get rid of atomic bombs. Why do not the Russians grasp at such an offer?

I suggest that we may think of a spokesman of the Russian regime speaking in some such terms as this: "Why did you not think of this idea before Hiroshima? At Potsdam? You would not trust us then; why should we trust you now? You had a card up your sleeve then, maybe you will have another—germ weapons—after you abandon the atomic bomb.

"You have the upper hand now; we think we'll wait until we have the bomb, too; then the bargaining will be more equal. Maybe atomic weapons are not so much after all. If you think they are terribly dangerous and that they may put you out of business, why don't you just stop making atomic bombs? On the one hand, that would convince people they are truly dangerous; and on the other hand, it would provide evidence that you do trust us a little and don't want to hold on to all the cards. You would still be holding most of them.

"At it is," we may imagine the Kremlin spokesman continuing, "you keep on acting like the Big Boss. You have your Monroe Doctrine for the Americas. The Atlantic is virtually an American lake. You now insist on slightly camouflaged unilateral control of Pacific bases. When we try to stake out a few regions to insure our 'security' you call us aggressive and imperialistic. In economic matters you put a tariff wall around the United States, but when we want to do the same thing in the Balkans in order to prevent them from being dominated by American capitalism, you call for free enterprise. You think control of the Dardanelles should be internationalized, but we hear nothing from you about similar control of the Panama Canal.

"One more thing," the Russian spokesman concludes. "We think our way of life and our political-economic system are superior to yours. You and Britain have had your day. But we are never going to play second fiddle again to anyone. We have no interest in any system essentially calculated to maintain the status quo in which we shall be consistently outvoted. We can wait with organizing the world until we can organize it in our own way, and we intend to do just that."

"Getting tough" with Russia, which did not work after 1917 when Russia was weak, will certainly not mean a thing except more trouble eventually.

What *can* avail? I come back each time I face that question to what I wrote in last month's FELLOWSHIP. We may put it thus: The Russian people and regime can be understood in terms of a paradox. On the one hand, for the reasons already alluded to, they are afraid, humiliated, sore in spirit, and sensitive. On the other hand, they are arrogant and supremely confident, for they have a religion, a faith, to which they are fanatically devoted and which in their opinion is destined to rule the earth.

A great act of faith, courage and generosity is, I am convinced, the only thing that will make any impression on them. A United States which came to them having renounced war, inviting Russia to join in disarmament but making clear that we were done with the monstrous sin of war regardless of what any other people did, would impress even Joseph Stalin.

From a United States laying down its arms Russians would have nothing to fear. Both the reality and the myth of "capitalist encirclement" would vanish. As it is, Russia and the United States each stimulates fear in the other. No ordinary measure will break that demonic spell.

But far more important, in a United States that tried to live up to its professed Christian faith the Russians would see a religion more real, releasing more dynamic, than their own. They would know that no more than the Roman Empire was able to wipe out the handful of early Christians would any power on earth avail against a people armed with love.

Whatever else they may or may not be, the men in the Kremlin know power when they see it. They discount the mere semblance of power. They know that power is rooted in faith and that, as things now stand, they have faith while we have doubt and confusion. They have power because they practice what they preach. For all our material might, we are afraid and inwardly weak because we are the kind of people who say "I am a Christian but . . ." instead of the kind of people who say "I am a Christian, therefore . . ."

The Cocoa Beads

The story* of an American flier who learned how true it is that "you can't trust a Jap."

By J. KREUZER

IT HAPPENED OVER THE MARSHALL ISLANDS. A moment before I had felt indestructible. Twice I had framed "Zeros" in my sights and blasted them out of the sky. And then it was my ship that was ablaze. I bailed out; and that is the last I remember until I saw him bending over me. A Jap! Brown-skinned, slant-eyed, detestable.

At first I was afraid, and then I was angry with an anger born of hate. I would have killed him then and there, sinking my nails into his throat. But I couldn't move. God knows, I tried. The pain shot through me till every nerve shrieked. And all he did was smile and nod, and, reaching for a flask, he applied it gently to my lips. When I had drunk he smiled again. My heart turned over inside me. I knew that he was human.

I would be a dead man today if it were not for that Jap. My leg was broken, my body was a mass of burns. There we were, we two alone on a diminutive island. And perhaps it was I who had shot him down.

He nursed me, and his hand was tender. He brought me food and water. He built a shady roof of palm leaves to shed the rain. And for long stretches he would sit beside me and talk in a soft, quiet voice—words that I couldn't understand. And sometimes I would talk to him; and I would ask him why he was doing all this for me. And if there were others like him in Japan. And if war were not all wrong that two human beings like ourselves could have hated each other so dreadfully. And I would talk to him of home, of mother, of the crunching sound of snow under foot, and of Myrna with her blue eyes and golden hair. Once he drew a photograph from his inside pocket and showed me a little wisp of a "Yum Yum" wrapped in a silk kimono. I tried to show him my appreciation with my eyes. And I think he understood.

Then one day I found the explanation for his kindness. He was stooping over me, readjusting my bandages, when something fell out of his pocket. I picked it up and held it in my hand. A rosary made of cocoa beads. He only looked and smiled. But every evening after that we said the rosary together. He would lead and I would answer. He in Japanese, I in English. I almost learned the first half of the "Hail Mary" in Japanese. Another week and I would have known it. My rescuers came too early.

* Reprinted from *The Ligourian*, by permission.

They came ashore just at dawn, and I was glad to see them. Marines they were, and not taking any chances. When I yelled at them they looked as surprised as if they had stumbled on Coney Island instead of a little patch of palms and cocoanuts. I had hardly told them who I was and how I had gotten there when the Jap appeared out of the jungle carrying an armful of bananas. And before I could let out a yell he was a dead man. A half dozen M3 guns went off in unison, shot as if by instinct. And lying there on my back I cried like a baby.

"You can never trust one of those little yellow swine," said one of the Marines; and of course he was right, so right that I could never hope to tell him how dead wrong he really was.

But he got the rosary for me, the rosary of cocoa beads, and the photograph of the little Japanese maiden wrapped in a silk kimono. I sent the photograph to Myrna. She will understand and pray for the little "Yum Yum" whose sweetheart will never come home.

The cocoa beads I mean to keep. No, I never quite learned the first part of the "Hail Mary" in Japanese, but when the hospital ward is quite still at night and the groans of the wounded have melted into sleep I can half hear the strange lilt of it mixed with the tropical breeze. And then I know how right the Marine really was. You can never trust a Japanese. You think you have him figured out. A cruel, cunning, heartless, detestable little creature. And then—well—I owe my life to a Jap.

French Pacifists and the War

By ROBERT ROOT*

"WHAT WOULD YOU DO if the Germans took the country over?" That theoretical question posed to American pacifists is the one that French FOR members had to face daily for five years.

At first the German occupation was, in one sense, a good break for them. As mobilization had begun, French pacifists had been herded off to jail. Philippe Vernier, who had served two sentences already, was sentenced to four years. His younger brother, Pierre, who had served in the army, now refused and got two years. A Salvation Army man was sentenced for conscientious objection. Several soldiers, after starting with the army, refused to go on. Because his friends had been imprisoned for pacifism, the general secretary of the French FOR, Henri Roser, of Paris, refused to ask an exemption, though he had four children. He was arrested in September, 1939, and sentenced to four years, and the French went ahead with plans to shoot him.

In behalf of the pacifists, Marc Boegner, president of the French Protestant Federation, approached Premier Daladier. Because Daladier asked what they were willing to do, the pacifists offered a proposal to form an ambulance unit, to be financed from their own pockets and International FOR funds, under the control of the home ministry; they would wear civilian dress and work in danger areas around Strasbourg and Metz, where battle was expected. But Daladier, willing to have such a unit only as a part of the military, turned them down.

And then suddenly the Germans were pouring across France in that memorable spring of 1940 and the French released their imprisoned COs. Henri Roser told me that he still does not know how many there were. There were anarchists and other objectors, so that it is difficult to define who was imprisoned for religious objection; "ten to twenty" probably would cover it.

Faced now with the concrete problem of action toward an occupying "enemy," the seven hundred French FOR members and affiliates went into the resistance. Some of them abandoned the pacifist position and went into the armed resistance. The leader of the resistance at Marseilles was an FOR man—perhaps he did not himself shoot but he directed those who did.

But most of the FOR members kept free of collaborationism with the Nazis or with force. Because they could not be at home with either, they refused involvement either in the military or in the Gaullist movement. Yet they refused to retire into an ivory tower and they became actively anti-collaborationist. Testimony was the only alternative open, testimony by words, not arms. They rebuked the Nazi intent to govern the world, denounced anti-semitism, preached the gospel as strongly as possible. The FOR had no right to exist under the Nazis but it took it. Its members had no permission to meet, but between thirty and fifty persons nevertheless had monthly meetings. They spoke openly, discussed the Nazi hostage system, figured out ways to help its victims.

The Germans did not ask military service of the French, but they questioned the pacifists to find out what breed of cat they were. Roser was arrested once, questioned, and freed. Another time the Gestapo questioned his wife for an hour.

All FOR members aided the Jews, Roser said. They made false identity papers for the hunted and helped them evade the Nazis. Down in the rolling hills near Lyons, at Le-Chambon-sur-Lignon, a Protestant center, Pastor André Trocmé[1] organized the escape of forty Jews. The police came to him and accused him.

"Your business is to search, but my business is to keep silent," Pastor Trocmé told them.

Probably the most dramatic story is that of Jacques Martin, today secretary of the French movement for social Christianity. An FOR member, he was in a Protestant area of southern France, in contact with some maquis formed of Protestant youth who had refused to accept Nazi slave labor; they had some arms, a non-pacifist pastor as leader.

Because he felt it wrong that they should be forced to labor for the Nazis, Martin made a large collection of money and brought them food. For this he was imprisoned

* Correspondent for the World Council of Churches, stationed at Geneva.

1 André Trocmé recently was appointed European and Youth Secretary by the International FOR. See "Pacifist Christianity in Europe" in the July 1946 FELLOWSHIP.

and sentenced to death. One day the end seemed near as gunmen took him from his cell and into the courtyard. Suddenly he was freed! And in the automobile of the Vichy prefect, he was sent back to the *maquis!*

This strange twist came because the prefect had asked a thousand sheep for the town of Montpelier. When they were assured that the sheep would not go to the Nazis, the *maquis* agreed to deliver but asked for Martin in exchange. The prefect said that this would be difficult, for the gendarmes were particularly incensed about him.

"No Martin, no sheep," said the *maquis.* They got Martin. Two hours after he was released, seventeen other Frenchmen in the same prison were executed!

One of the war's major accomplishments was the strengthening of the French FOR belief that pacifism must have religious roots to survive, which resulted from the sorry showing of the French peace-time pacifists or, as Roser called them, "the false pacifists."

In comparison to the FOR's hundreds, there were thousands of these peace-lovers in France during the thirties. These "false pacifists" did not understand the moral and spiritual requirements of real peace. Hating war more than they loved peace, these trade union leaders, socialists, and liberals attacked the "merchants of death" and opposed or sabotaged military preparations. Sincere as they were, they were not able to substitute the "moral equivalent" of war.

"In the seven years before the war, we had as much of a fight against the false pacifists as against the so-called militarists," Roser declared.

In those days, he argued with them that they faced a dilemma: either to recognize the position as dangerous and leave it, like Romain Rolland and Einstein, or maintain it, minimize the danger and refuse to see the situation as it existed. When war came, many did the latter. The "false pacifists" kept silent if they were not mobilized or, if drafted, served with no idea of shooting but of escaping conflict. This spirit with that of the Communists, together with other factors, contributed to the military downfall of France before the Nazis, Roser said.

Many of the "false pacifists" became collaborationists. Thinking that all things were better than war, they believed that the Nazis brought the dream of peace for Europe. They wanted to guarantee the peace, even at the price of the Jews and other persecuted peoples. Vichy itself was more opportunist than idealistic, Roser observed, but among the French leaders outside the government were many of these "false pacifists."

After the war, Roser was appointed chaplain for the camp at Drancy for collaborationists. There he had long talks with them. Many were innocent. But to others he had to say that, if they were not guilty before the law, because they had taken no money or given no overt aid to nazism, they were nevertheless guilty before God, because they had made peace at the price of the Jews.

By contrast, the FOR came through the war undamaged. The organization remained united on a religious basis. Only two not-very-active members gave some acceptance to collaborationism.

But because of this struggle against false conceptions, Roser said he believes the French are much more aware than the British or Americans that pacifism should not be a question of theory and of a logical absolute but should be an obedience to God.

We turned to talk of the future, even if France has enough on her hands with the present. Roser, who is lean, sharp-featured, with an unobtrusive mustache, sat in his overcoat, for his room was cold in spite of a bright little fire through the windows of a sort of fireplace stove. His wife hospitably brought in coffee—the ersatz which the French drink. One wall was filled with books, on another hung a blue picture of what appeared to be an internment camp, and there were an English poem, a French motto by St. Francis, and a saying of Albert Schweitzer, significantly in German. It was the third floor of a dark apartment in a working section of northeast Paris.

French pacifists must go slow. The Fellowship is suspect, not as collaborationist, but simply as pacifist. Roser hoped to restart the FOR publication to regather the membership, but paper had to be allotted and the government was hesitating.

Yet he was temperately optimistic. If the Fellowship has not been widely known, still many know non-violent resistance better than they did before the war. The church is "much more open" to the pacifist message. The confusion of the postwar era, the destruction in war's wake, the falsification of ideas and even of Christian faith, have favored the FOR position. Many French Christians want to know more of the moral and spiritual force with which they can resist—resist effectively.

The Light of the World

If you are a disciple of the Master it is up to you to illumine the earth. You do not have to groan over everything the world lacks; you are there to bring it what it needs.

There where reign hatred, malice and discord you will put love, pardon and peace. For lying you will bring truth; for despair, hope; for doubt, faith; there where is sadness you will give joy. If you are in the smallest degree the servant of God, all these virtues of light you will carry within you.

Do not be frightened by a mission so vast! It is not really you who are charged with the fulfillment of it. You are only the torch-bearer. The fire, even if it burns within you, even when it burns you, is never lit by you. It uses you as it uses the oil of the lamp. You hold it, feed it, carry it around, but it is the fire that works, that gives light to the world, and to yourself at the same time.

Your faith, your love, and the joy that enlivens you are only lent to you. All these might be taken away; all the more reason for spreading them widely. You do not know how long you will keep the flame. In the meantime send out the greatest possible radiance! Do not be the clogged lantern that chokes and smothers the light; the lamp, timid or ashamed, hidden under a bushel. Flame up and shine before men; lift high the fire of God, and cry out everywhere that you are the lowly servant of a great King!

PHILIPPE VERNIER.

Letter from CHINA

[The material that follows has been sent by an FOR member, who cannot be further identified, who is now working in China. We have complete confidence in his reliability. —Ed.]

THE IMPRESSIONS I HAVE GATHERED while in China more or less confirm the ideas held by any intelligent liberal-radical observer in the States: that the National government is moving right while existing progressive forces are making a slow retreat; that America's foreign policy in China cries, "Peace, Peace," on the one hand, and arms the Nationalists for war on the other hand; that as far as an economic program is concerned the Communists are doing a better job than the Nationalists; and finally that inflation and wholesale graft continue apace.

The Chinese Communists: During a week's work in Communist territory I was impressed with the different spirit which existed in contrast with the Nationalist territory. One had the feeling that the Communists had a clear program, with plenty of sound ideas, and that the whole thing was being pushed by a very idealistic and revolutionary spirit. Cut off from the outside and holding a rather poor section of the country, the Communists are in a greater state of poverty than most other Chinese. I saw almost no imported goods, they had no drugs, and almost everything was a local product.

The Communist idea of the democratic process is in keeping with the Russian. In fact, the Chinese Communists' admiration of Russian methods makes one a bit uneasy. They continually speak of the "will of the people" but do not specify how that "will" is to be determined.

The Communists now claim to have 130,000,000 people in their area and in the Border Region Government subdivision there were 30,000,000 people. An election is held every two years (town meeting style) to choose 700 representatives who meet once a year to elect an executive committee of twelve members with power to appoint the officials of the Border Region Government. No more than one-third of any committee can be Communists, but actually they get around this by having members officially resign from the party when taking public office. There is every evidence that the Government officials live in near-poverty —a vast difference from the case of the Nationalists.

The Chinese Communists claim they receive all their arms by taking them away from the Nationalists. They are at present violently opposed to the foreign policy of the United States. They claim, and not without cause, that America's policy of moving, arming and generally supplying the Chinese Nationalists is only backing up the Central Government in its war on the Communists. My own personal feeling is that if we had never given any loans or military equipment of any kind to the Central Government they would have been forced to form a broader government. However, our complete support of the Nationalists makes fighting almost inevitable. From this point of view it is difficult to understand our foreign policy. I suspect Marshall is passed off as a great peacemaker in the United States, but the Communists here feel that he is a "tool of the imperialists" and that the United States is going all-out for imperialism in Asia. It is strange that in one place we have a "peace team" and a few miles away train the Chinese Nationalist military. The Communists have been subjected to some bombing and considerable strafing. They enjoy collecting spent bombs and other arms which have "Made in USA" on them.

Chinese Industrial Cooperatives: During the war the Nationalist Government and several of its leading lights threw their support to the CIC, using the co-ops as a "tool" to gain foreign support. The CIC is now out of favor with the Central Government. In fact, the Government attempts to obstruct the work of the cooperatives because its program smacks too much of what the Communists are doing and represents a position too far to the left for the Central Government's comfort. Consumer co-ops in China have so far almost universally failed, and only a few producers' co-ops remain. The CIC is attempting to make a comeback but I am not sure how successful it will be. Consumer co-ops will have a tough go in China. The Chinese are not used to the idea of working together in such a fashion. In the past, and certainly now, the family system has held China together. Loyalty to the family has much that is unselfish in it, but one observer reports that even in the face of disaster the Chinese do not work together as a community. Rewi Alley, a New Zealand citizen, on the other hand, feels that there is much in Chinese history and philosophy upon which cooperation can be built. He has given twenty years of his life to CIC work in China.

Chances for Peace in China: None.

The War So Far: There is evidence that the Nationalists are about to make a considerable push[1], but actually give and take is about equal as far as territory is concerned. The Nationalist army is located in about every town, village and city in China. It must be vast indeed and is a curse on this land. One cannot help but see that militarism has a grip on the country. The China of Lin Yutang is non-existent.

The Future: The characteristics which most of us have admired in Chinese philosophy seem to be shoved further and further back. China is rushing to accept everything it can from the West and in so doing seems to be losing its soul. Even in the West, where we obviously do not practice Christianity on a national or international scale, Christianity nevertheless has made a dent in face-to-face relationships. This is vastly important. China needs a religion; I don't know what kind she needs and I certainly would not enjoy or expect the spread of some of the objectionable Christian theology, but she does need to understand the simple ethics of mutual aid and unselfishness taught by Jesus. I have become more impressed by the record of Christianity in our civilization by observing a civilization without it.

My conclusion is that China really is suffering from the same spiritual sickness that we are—the Chinese would be as materialistic as we are if they had the goods. Pacifism of any dynamic sort is a blank to them. I presented the pacifist position to Chinese Communists, and one night we debated for seven hours without a let-up! No dents made. Any anti-war feeling here appears to be based only on the general undesirability of war or on the personal gain of keeping out of war.

[1] This "push" eventuated since the letter was written, as readers know.—Ed.

More COs Released from Prison; Axford Continues Amnesty Sitdown

As FELLOWSHIP went to press Roger Axford continued his sitdown strike, begun September 21 on the steps of the Department of Justice, to call attention to the plight of men still being held in prison for conscientious objection to war. Dick Suzuki, recently returned from a trip to Greece and Yugoslavia as a "sea-going cowboy" had joined Axford in the Washington demonstration.

COs released from federal prisons during the fall include: *Danbury,* Roger Axford, Wally Nelson, Tom Parks; *Ashland,* Alex Stach, Alfred Patridge; *Lewisburg,* Roy Franklyn, Theodore Matysik; *Sandstone,* Albert Schweigert, Henry Dyer, Walter Gormly, Charles Worley, Glenn Hutchinson, John Hampton, Dick Zumwinkle, Malcolm Parker; *Springfield,* James Ricks; *Milan,* Leonard Mehr; *McNeil Island,* Robert Lam.

Arthur Lavac and Clarence Kasner were transferred from Sandstone to Terre Haute. Before leaving Sandstone Schweigert, Lavac and Kasner spent some time in the hole, placed there by local authorities for refusal to work in protest against being held in prison more than a year after the war's end. Previously all three men had applied for parole after serving one-third of their sentences.

Council Reaffirms 1941 Stand on World Government

The National Council of the FOR, meeting in New York October 26, 1946, adopted a resolution reaffirming a position taken at the 1941 Chautauqua Conference, that the United States must join other nations to work toward "the building of federal world government along some such lines as those of our American Union." The resolution warned against "superficial and erroneous conceptions" of what world government involves, and urged promotion of the following essentials of a true world government plan: abolition of national and international military establishments; application of world law "to individuals but not to nations or large collective groups"; clarification of the spheres of world government and of national states' authority. Such specific steps were named for the United States as: immediate reduction of national armaments toward the earliest possible universal disarmament, immediate cessation of atom bomb production and destruction of present stockpiles, reduction of the military budget and increase of expenditure for all institutions of government functioning in the areas of relief, reconstruction and world trade.

At the same meeting the National Council expressed its dissatisfaction with the whole procedure of the Nuremberg trials.

Pacifists Are Told of Special Responsibilities

Quoting from a recent editorial in *The Christian Century,* which reflected utter hopelessness toward the world situation, Norman J. Whitney told Syracuse FOR members: "In such a world the pacifist has grave responsibilities." He warned that the pacifist must not only "work unceasingly for a political, economic and social organization of his 'one world' that will make peace more attractive than war and practically possible." Many other persons and groups of good will are doing these things also and the pacifist must unite with them. But he has an additional and a deeper obligation. He must go even farther and "build those cultural and religious foundations which alone can support the 'organization of the world for peace.'" This means change, Mr. Whitney warned, change in men's hearts as well as in the social fabric. "It means the full acceptance of individual responsibility for individual actions that support war or peace—on the part of everyone. It means, in a word, the propagation of the faith." He called on the Syracuse members to do this by such means as placing the poster "Join the FOR" in every church, library and club room; distributing the appeal to church folk *Choose You This Day* to all their friends in the churches; putting *Fellowship* and other literature in the hands of all who are troubled over the world's future; reaching all war-veteran acquaintances with a copy of Edgar Jones' searching appeal to veterans; increasing personal giving to the FOR; prompt response to appeals for help on local FOR projects; praying without ceasing for the on-going work of the Fellowship.

"Too Much to Die, But Not Enough to Live"

Thus poignantly does a 16-year old German girl describe the food she and her family get to eat, in a letter that she hopes will find an American young person who would like to correspond with her. *Fellowship* has letters from a number of such German young people, who need friendship and encouragement even more than they need food and clothing. American young people who would like to correspond with such persons, and thus help to build a bridge of understanding across an ocean of enmity, are invited to send their names to the editor.

Will Joins Methodists

Herman Will, Jr., prominent leader in the Methodist Youth movement and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, on October 1, 1946, accepted a position as Administrative Assistant of the Methodist Commission of World Peace, with special responsibilities in the fields of youth and young adult work. During nearly ten years' experience as a leader in peace work, Mr. Will has been president of the National Council of Methodist Youth, delegate to the First World Conference of Christian Youth, Midwest Secretary of the FOR, and director of the Brethren Service Committee's reconstruction project at Castaner, Puerto Rico. Recently he completed a special mission for the International FOR which took him to Cuba and Mexico.

Race Secretaries Plan Summer Action Projects

George Houser, Bayard Rustin and the Racial and Industrial Committee of the FOR are working on plans for a one-month interracial training and action project next summer, for the purpose of acquainting participants with the general race situation in the United States, with particular problems of the community where the project is held, and with techniques for dealing effectively with such problems. Discussion, training in, and practice of the non-violent direct action approach will afford young people a real opportunity to do some worthwhile work in this field. Full information can be obtained by writing to the Racial and Industrial Department, Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25.

Teachers Needed

The College Cevenol, at Le Chambon, France, needs two physical education teachers, a man and a woman. Address inquiry to FELLOWSHIP.

Join the F.O.R. Membership Effort

From Armistice Day to Christmas the National F.O.R. is asking all members to visit prospective members and invite them to join. Many church people and even veterans are simply waiting to be asked. Give them copies of "Choose You this Day" and "I'm An Ill-Adjusted Veteran" (see back page ad) and encourage them to write for other literature and information. Work hard on this from now to Christmas!

U. S. Trusteeship Attitude Throws Spotlight on Navy Rule of Islands

President Truman's announcement early in November that the United States would accept a United Nations' trusteeship of the Japanese mandated islands, and any Japanese islands under U.S. control as a result of World War II, left much to be desired in the matter of a forward-looking policy on strategic areas in the Pacific. The proposition announced by the President reserves for the United States sole administration of the islands with such imperialistic provisions as the right "without any advance notice" to "exclude the United Nations from any or all of the islands," and a "protective" feature under which "American nationals may receive special treatment in the economic sphere."

The President's announcement climaxes a bitter struggle between the military and the State Department over the future of strategic bases and recalls a discussion of "Navy Rule" made by Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of the Interior, at this year's meeting of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs.

Amid the Navy's clamor for jurisdiction over Japan's mandated islands, Mr. Ickes pointed out that while we "spoke out boldly" at San Francisco and London on other nations' obligations regarding subject peoples we have failed to apply the same principles to our present and "prospective dependencies." Of the "seven nations holding mandated areas" only two, he said, held out against declaring "their intention to enter into trusteeship agreements." Those two were the Union of South Africa and the United States.

Mr. Ickes said that while we can be proud of some of our achievements in civilian rule of overseas areas, the history of Navy rule in Guam and Samoa during forty-seven years reveals a willful and persistent policy of violating "many of the tenets of the American bill of rights." The Navy took away the "considerable home rule which Guam enjoyed under Spain" within one year after we acquired the territory, it abolished freedom of religion, suppressed the native Chamarro language, and imposed segregated schools and "taxation without representation," he declared. Accusing the Navy of maintaining an absolutism "as a result of effective lobbying in Congress," Mr. Ickes warned that it was time our State Department "ceased to be beguiled by the pleasant tinkle of brass and the lustre of gold braid," and declared it is the Navy which "has largely been responsible for our moral failure to date as to our dependencies." He pointed out that pressure to designate Pacific islands as "strategic areas" is an effort to avoid "inspection, criticism and publicity" of the Navy's administration by keeping it a "top secret."

International Secretary

The resignation of John Nevin Sayre as co-secretary of the FOR and his appointment as international secretary, were an important part of the business of the October meeting of the National Council. Mr. Sayre, who is also co-chairman of the International FOR, expects to spend the greater part of his time working for that organization after the first of the year, and probably will find it necessary to travel extensively in Latin America, Asia, and Europe.

In honor of Mr. Sayre's more than a quarter-century of service with the American FOR, he will be guest at a dinner at Riverside Church, in New York City, on December 9. Speakers will include Mr. Sayre's brother, the Hon. Francis B. Sayre, diplomatic adviser to UNRRA; Dr. Halford J. Luccock, of Yale Divinity School; and A. J. Muste. John Raitt, star of the musical comedy *Carousel* and FOR member, will sing.

Co-op Radio Station

A new approach to the radio public—one sure to be welcomed with enthusiasm by that almost helpless listening audience—will be made by the Potomac Broadcasting Cooperative, recently licensed for an FM station. The new cooperative will insist on the same integrity in advertising that it proposes to maintain in its program of information, opinion and entertainment. In general, advertising will be limited to facts of genuine interest to consumers, with a bar against "extravagant self praise by advertisers, against broad claims unsupported by detailed specifications of fact, against emotional appeals to buy, against attempts to play on ignorance and fear, against advice for self-medication," and all things commonly recognized as harmful to the public welfare. Advertisers will not be allowed to interrupt other programs.

Correction

In a letter published in the November issue of FELLOWSHIP, Abraham Kaufman, executive secretary of the War Resisters League, challenged the assertion by Philip Jacob, published the previous month, that the WRL had "pressed" the Historic Peace Churches to "undertake administration of alternative service projects for COs."

As far as can be ascertained from available correspondence, the War Resisters League did *not* press the Historic Peace Churches to undertake administration of CPS. It did consistently advocate the setting up of projects administered by the Government in order to provide an alternative choice for COs who preferred not to serve under a religious agency, yet did not want to go to jail; and a poll taken of WRL members subject to the draft in early 1941 showed that a minority of 54 out of 135 expressed a personal preference for service under a religious agency rather than under the Government. This statement has been accepted and agreed to by Mr. Jacob.—*The Editors.*

Jottings

Russia's 1947 budget cuts appropriations for the armed forces more than 43 per cent and allows approximate increases of: education 52 per cent, industry 45 per cent, agriculture 37 per cent, health 20 per cent. Education and industry appropriations include large amounts for scientific research.

* * *

The Toledo FOR reports placing a second supply of pamphlets and other materials in the city library, said to rank among the five best libraries in the nation. The library displays a window of FOR materials frequently and gives prominent position to a shelf of books by such pacifist writers as Kirby Page, Muriel Lester, Richard Gregg, Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, Haridas T. Mazumdar, G. J. Heering and others. Fellowship members add five volumes a year to the library's stock of pacifist books and provide a subscription to FELLOWSHIP magazine.

* * *

The Workers Defense League gave its 1946 Clendenin award for distinguished service on behalf of Labor's rights to Dr. Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina. Due to illness Dr. Graham received the award in absentia and his address, "Progress in the South," was read at the award luncheon held in New York City. Dr. Graham is a member of the Fellowship.

* * *

The National Council for Prevention of War held its Twenty-fifth Anniversary celebration November 9 in Washington, D. C. The Council is composed of eight participating groups, under the leadership of Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary, veteran leader of the peace movement.

* * *

A large group of the friends and coworkers of George Lansbury, prominent British FOR member, gathered at Kingsley Hall in London October 25 for the unveiling of the George Lansbury Memorial window by the Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, Britain's Prime Minister. Lansbury, one of the world's foremost pacifists between wars, was also leader of the British Labor Party. Kingsley Hall is widely known in this country as the settlement house begun by Muriel Lester and her sister.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

The People Next Door

A Brother Is A Stranger, by Toru Matsumoto & Marion Olive Lerrigo. John Day, 1946. 318 pp. $3.75.

A leader in Japan's Student Christian movement in his college days and one of Tokyo's outstanding young liberals before the war, Toru Matsumoto has written, with the assistance of Marion Olive Lerrigo, a thought-provoking and inspiring account of his life in Japan and the United States. For the average American whose impressions of prewar Japan are based on flimsy newspaper stories, *A Brother Is A Stranger* is a book which strips away all the mystery about the Japanese and makes them as familiarly human as the people next door.

Toru Matsumoto was not an ordinary Japanese youth. The son of a Christian woman who gave her children a liberal home life in spite of angry sessions with her husband and neighbors, Toru began early his fight for individual freedom. He defended his right to live and think according to his own beliefs against the bitter denunciations of his ultra-conservative older brother, who was indeed a stranger, and eventually against the dreaded "Thought Police," who arrested him as a suspected Communist and slapped him around until one ear was deafened. Upon being graduated from college, Toru came to this country to attend Union Theological Seminary, and again he was arrested, this time on December 7, 1941, by the F.B.I.

Repatriation or Internment

As a civilian prisoner of war, Toru Matsumoto was given the choice of repatriation to his own country or internment in the United States for the duration of hostilities. Most of his fellow prisoners were unanimously in favor of returning to Japan and supporting the noble crusade to rid the Orient of its white masters, but Toru Matsumoto wanted to remain on the side of the United Nations, even though it meant supporting democracy from the inside of a barbed-wire enclosure and being condemned as a traitor by his friends at home. It was a difficult decision to make, and to justify it in his own mind, Toru began to jot down on paper those personal experiences which led him to renounce strong family ties in favor of supporting in principle the wartime aims of the United States.

Toru's reasons for staying in this country during the war have become the underlying theme of his autobiography, and they are of particular interest to pacifists, because Toru was reared in the Christian pacifist tradition. In revealing how all liberal, anti-war feeling in Japan was gradually and irresistibly crushed by the military machine, he comes to the conclusion that a victory of American arms over Japanese militarism might be the best thing that could happen to his people. Although he was confined as a dangerous alien in this country and dreaded the thought of what might happen to his friends at home, he was able to bid God's speed to American soldiers, because he felt that world salvation lay in the avowed purposes for which they fought.

Democracy Works

Toru's faith in American democracy bore heady fruit as far as his own life was concerned. His case was reviewed, and he was allowed to go free. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ gave him a responsible position in the one field in which he was pre-eminently qualified: the resettlement of displaced Japanese-Americans. Albeit an enemy alien, he was ordained as a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church in an impressive wartime ceremony which seemed to dispel the notion that Americans could ever bear prejudices. He was asked to speak before countless groups of tolerant and understanding men and women who wanted to hear the "enemy's" point of view, and he and his family were accepted readily into the community life of Larchmont, N. Y. In fact, when vandals tore up the Matsumoto victory garden, the neighbors turned out en masse and replanted the garden with seedlings and sprouts taken from their own plots.

For all of that, the book ends with a postwar consideration of defeated Japan, and the reader cannot miss the conclusion that Toru Matsumoto is no longer so certain that American occupation is the best solution for the problems which beset his people. While admiring the changes wrought by General MacArthur's administration, Toru believes that Japan will still fail to become democratic unless certain fundamental psychological and religious stumbling blocks to democracy are dissolved. He can now see that American military directives are not a cure-all for the basic ills which haunt a self-oppressed nation, and that the true reconversion of Japan can only be brought about by those educational and religious leaders who have a contagious faith in democratic processes and who can instil in their listeners a love for individual equality and personal freedom.

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Security in Inflation

Inflation Is Coming, by Ralph Borsodi. Bayard Lane, 1945. $1.00.

This is a refreshing little book: Borsodi admits to being an economist, yet he dares to make dogmatic predictions which are startlingly specific. It is also a stimulating book, even now when it looks as though the dire predictions of runaway inflation were wrong: Borsodi is suggesting ways of achieving security in an insecure world, and that world is still insecure. And it is a confusing book: Borsodi uses the terms inflation, depression, and mass unemployment interchangeably. To an economist it is also an extremely annoying book, full of new implicit definitions, new explicit definitions that don't make sense, and statements that are certainly misleading if not wrong: the currency revaluations Borsodi mentions (p. 36) were certainly not *all* the result of inflation in any usual sense of the word. The chief cause of our currency depreciation in 1933 was the depression, and our attempt to get out of it by raising prices and stimulating exports. And the revaluation plus repudiation of the gold clause did not mean that the government *stole* (p. 29) all the gold in the country, unless preventing people from obtaining unearned profits from a government act is stealing from them. Yet, it would be unfair to pick on trivia, and only an old nasty would be derisive of predictions gone wrong, however dogmatic they were. After all, many a reputable economist was predicting vast unemployment by last spring.

What *are* we to do for security? Borsodi is really talking about two distinct types of insecurity: runaway inflation, which makes money savings worthless, and business depression and unemployment, which makes it difficult or impossible to earn a living by holding a job. Borsodi's advice is really in two parts: (a) speculating on a coming inflation by buying things whose prices are going up with money whose value is going down, and (b) decentralism: making yourself as independent as possible of the economy by learning how to do almost everything for yourself. If inflation were really coming in the drastic sense Borsodi means, then his advice is good: invest your money in tangible productive property, sell your stocks and bonds and fancy insurance, stick to straight term insurance, and be sure your house is paid for. As a matter of fact, wise investment in anything tangible even as late as the time when Borsodi was writing, would have brought a profit at present prices. (Of course if everyone had tried to follow Borsodi's advice, there would have been an inflation.) How much longer it will be worth while holding to property you aren't using in hopes of further price rises is a matter for conjecture; the risks are getting larger and the possible gains smaller. If we should have a postwar depression, and most economists expect one sooner or later, it would be very difficult to sell anything; you would be caught in a very illiquid position at a time when cash might be very handy.

The second part of Borsodi's advice would provide security against either inflation or unemployment. By providing for your own needs you need not buy anything and inflation won't bother you. By becoming self-employed, you need not worry about unemployment. For this writer's tastes, this is security at too high a price. It's an unethical solution because everyone couldn't do it, and because those who do make it harder on the rest of society (by ceasing to buy the products and services others want to sell). It's a sort of nationalism on an individual or family scale. It's also unwise economically, because it calls for a reduction in standard of living—except perhaps for the worst years of a depression—which is accepted permanently for the sake of security from temporary problems. Anyway, there are too many things that need doing in this world for us to isolate ourselves from our fellows and spend most of our time caring for our private needs and our private security.

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